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QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.—No. CII.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY POLICIES IN GERMANY



BY

JAMES HOWARD GORE

THE COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY

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BY

JAMES H. GORE

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PREFACE.

During the past decade, and more especially in its latter half, there has been apparent a determination on the part of many persons in this country to see in every legislative enactment of Germany evidences of hostility to the United States. This inclination has been stimulated by citizens of other countries who would be glad to see these two great nations on unfriendly terms.

Believing that this opinion had no foundation in fact, and thinking that the energies of the German legislator were directed solely towards the upbuilding of the Empire, while even the most rabid partisan cared more for the defeat of opposing factions than for the embarrassment of foreign nations, a careful study was made of the programs of all the parties of Germany as well as of their attitude on all questions that might have a bearing upon international relations. This examination was made in the midst of the last campaign, when each faction, in its desire to bring confusion to its opponents, zealously sought for words and acts that showed a hostile spirit towards friendly nations.

The results here briefly given include the development of the platforms upon which the parties have reached their present status, the attitude they have assumed upon the great domestic questions that are

foremost, and the position they are likely to hold on the international problems of the immediate future.

This work was undertaken in the desire to contribute somewhat towards a clearer understanding on our part of the difficulties that confront a sister nation, and with the hope that out of such knowledge a broader sympathy may come and in its train an earnest striving for the maintenance of our present friendly relations.

J. H. G.

**POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY
POLICIES IN GERMANY**



Political Parties and Party Policies in Germany.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The German Reichstag, the successor of the parliamentary organizations of the North German Alliance, is a representative body in the strict sense of the term. According to the statute of April 16, 1871, the members represent the interests of the Empire, and in no sense are representatives of a single district or State. Naturally they endeavor to safeguard their electors, and strive to promote legislation that promises their weal and oppose acts which might work their injury.

The law-making power of the German Empire rests in the Reichstag and the Bundesrat.

According to the law of 1871, there shall be one representative in the Reichstag for each 100,000 inhabitants, and 50,000 or more is regarded as 100,000 in securing a representative for the States having a population below the requisite number. There has been no redistricting, so that now there is one representative for about 130,000 persons in the

Empire, and a few districts fall below the 50,000 prescribed.

Of the 397 districts, Prussia has 236; Bavaria, 48; Saxony, 23; Würtemberg, 17; Alsace-Lorraine, 15; Baden, 14; Hessen, 9; Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 6; Saxe-Weimar, 3; Oldenburg, 3; Brunswick, 3; Hamburg, 3; Saxe-Meiningen, 2; Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, 2; Anhalt, 2; and one each for Saxe-Altenburg, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Schwarzburg-Rudolfstadt, Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, Reuss the Older, Reuss the Younger, Waldeck, Lippe, Schaumburg-Lippe, Lübeck, and Bremen.

If one representative were allowed to each 100,000 there would now be 523 members. Prussia would gain 83, Bavaria 10, Saxony 15, Würtemberg 4, Hamburg 4, Baden 3, and some of the others one each. The question of re-organizing the districts is an important one, and is an issue with the parties which show strength in the States where gains would be effected.

The Bundesrat is made up of delegates from the individual States, fifty-eight in number. The Imperial Chancellor presides over this body, and any measure that *originates* here and secures the requisite majority is known as a Government proposition. If it has been presented by the Chancellor, it is further characterized as a *presidial* proposition. In either case it is the Chancellor who lays the measure before the Reichstag and there urges its passage, with such assistance from his colleagues in the Ministry as he may command. If the measure fails to receive a majority of the votes, the Emperor can dissolve the Reichstag, and the election must follow within

sixty days and the Reichstag be re-convened within ninety days.

From this it will appear that it is the Reichstag that is on trial, and although the new election may give the same hostile majority, the Ministry does not fall nor is the Bundesrat in any way affected. The proposition in question may be modified in such a way as to secure its adoption, convincing arguments may be found, or the statement may go forth that new conditions have arisen that render the measure unnecessary.

In case a measure is introduced in the Reichstag, passes through the usual parliamentary stages, and is there adopted, it goes to the Bundesrat, where it must meet with approval in order to be effective. A failure to pass here is simply a failure. It does not call for any resignations, dissolutions, or elections, and the measure may be started anew at the instance of any member. Thus the repeal of the anti-Jesuit law has passed the Reichstag several times but it has not been approved by the Bundesrat.

It will be clearly understood that in Germany a Government proposition, so called, is more than the will or wish of the Emperor. It is the formulated desire of a majority of the delegates of the States which form the Empire. To what extent this may represent or embody the opinions or desires of the sovereign must always be a matter of conjecture, except in the rarest cases, or in the minds of those who futilely flatter themselves that they possess the royal confidence.

From its organization the Reichstag has been rich in parties. Its members grouped themselves

according to national, religious, economic, or social questions (and in their inability to agree upon secondary issues, they have formed and are still considering the formation of new parties.)

In a broad sense, four principal groups are recognizable :

1. Conservative :

Including German Conservative, Imperialists, Anti-Semitic, Farmers' Union, Agrarian.

2. Liberal :

Including National Liberal, Liberal Imperial, Löwe-Berger Faction, Schauss-Völk Faction, Secessionists, German Progressive (Deutsch-Freisinnige), Progressive Union, Popular Progressive.

3. Particular :

Including Centrists (Clerical or Ultramontane), South German, Guelph, Protestants (Protestler), Danes, Lithuanian, Poles, Alsations.

(4) Social-Democrat.

The great majority of the members belong to one of these parties, but there are some, known as Wilde (wild or scattering), who are not committed to any faction, and others, called Hospitanten (guests), who may be counted upon as voting with their hosts on all important measures.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

In principle, the Conservatives stand for a continuance of existing conditions on all questions pertaining to ownership of property; they look toward a maintenance of the prerogatives of the

aristocracy rather than their curtailment; they insist upon authority rather than majority, and see the authority in the monarch. Because of the close union that existed so long between the State and the Church, many of the prominent officials of the State Church belong to this party, and there repel the attacks made by the masses against the influence of the clergy.

The landowner, regarding the clergy as helpful in curbing the uprising of the working classes, has welcomed the Protestant churchmen as members of this party. In common, they wish to see the unlimited will of the sovereign carried out in the Central Government, but they desire to exercise some authority within the sphere in which their interests lie. To them, the modern State is strange. They regard it as an artificial product that has been forced upon them, and many would like a return to the political conditions of 1848 if not of 1789.

They are regarded by the working classes and the small farmers as their natural enemy, and in their struggles a common interest in the vital question of ownership lines up the Conservative and the Liberal against all attempts to draw issues between those who own property and those who do not. In general, it is a governmental party, but when they feel that their interests are in jeopardy they may refuse their support.

The first enunciation of their principles was made at the Frankfort Convention of June, 1876. They declared for the permanence of the union and the integrity of the individual States, and expressed the conviction that prosperity could exist only when

due regard is paid to the traditional political, social, and religious rights and privileges. Their belief in a sovereign power was emphasized with local government and a restricted suffrage. Recognizing the right of the State, in virtue of its sovereignty, to adjust the relations between it and the Church, they expressed a determination to resist the encroachment of the Roman Catholic Church, and to oppose any political supervision over the internal management of religious organizations. They encouraged the upbuilding of churches and religious institutions, the strengthening of church schools, and opposition to a re-opening of the *Kulturkampf*. This plank in their platform was broadened later by the assertions:

"State and Church, being divine institutions, should work together for the welfare of the people."

"We oppose the rapid increase of Jewish influence."

"We demand for a Christian people Christian supremacy and Christian teachers for Christian schools."

They placed themselves on record as opposed to the unrestricted freedom demanded by the Liberals and the errors and speculations of the Socialists. In 1892, their language was stronger when they said, "We regard the adherents of social-democracy and socialism as enemies of the people."

At this date the Reichstag was dissolved because of the failure to grant the demanded increase in the army, and all parties re-dressed their lines and promulgated programs modified to meet some of the new conditions, especially those questions that were

related to the social betterment of the people. The Conservatives sought to strike some popular notes when they announced their insistence upon economical administration, a defensive attitude on the part of the State of such a character as would insure the maintenance of peace, and the institution of sick funds, accident insurance, invalid and retiring pensions; the formation of labor unions, and a fixed period of apprenticeship; the abolition of peddling and the strengthening of legitimate trade; opposition to speculation in food supplies, and an endorsement of the principle of protective tariff.

During the session of 1892, certain laws were enacted that were thought to lay heavy burdens upon landed property and to favor the industrial interests. This called into existence the *Bund der Landwirthe*, or Farmers' Alliance. They had so much in common with the Conservatives that they became the Hospitanten of that party, after having failed to bring into one party the agricultural interests of all factions.

The Conservative party had its maximum strength in the Reichstag in 1893, when they had seventy-two members, and during the coming session they will have fifty-two.

In 1866 a Free Conservative party was organized to foster the union of German States, and in the following year became a power in the North German Alliance. Upon the creation of the Empire this party became known as the Imperialists.

It is, above all things, the party of optimism, and usually stands ready to assist in carrying out any Government measure. It has endorsed the principle

of protective tariff, though some of its strongest adherents are engaged in industries that would seem to demand free trade. East of the Elbe, the Junker element belongs almost exclusively to this party. Because of the distance that separates large estates, a complete organization is impossible, and its membership is varied. In it are found the Silesian magnates, the Junkers of the industrial world, and high officials. For this reason it was known as the Ambassadorial party, and in his time it was sometimes called Bismarck's party.

They have no specific program, but in their appeal for votes in 1893 they advocated the increase in the army, favored equal protection to all forms of labor, opposed all restriction upon labor by organizations, and announced their desire to aid agriculture in every way consistent with the welfare of the Empire.

In 1878 they had fifty-seven members in the Reichstag, and during the coming session they will have only nineteen, the smallest number since the organization of the party.

The anti-Semitic faction is not, strictly speaking, a political party. It is simply an organized protest against the successful competition of Jewish enterprises, and in their appeals for votes, the Jew has been denounced as a "work-giver, and therefore master of the people." They demand that the Jews be treated as foreigners, that they be withdrawn from Christian schools, and that a heavy tax be placed on those lines of commerce in which Jews are largely engaged, notably all forms of banking.

In the political campaigns the anti-Semitic candi-

date, as Zimmermann in 1900, does not hesitate to say: "We do not hate the Jew because of his religion, but combat him simply because of his mastery over those industries which ruin the producing classes." And in June, 1895, the Christian social wing of this party announced that it was their purpose to oppose all un-Christian and non-German institutions, "especially liberalism, grasping Judaism, oppressive capital, and revolutionary social democracy.

Here again can be found the influence of the awakening to a realization of the social needs of the people. For in this same program will be found the assertion that it is their desire to narrow the chasm between the rich and the poor, that they favor a limitation to the amount of land that can be held by a single owner, that instruction shall be free, uniform, and obligatory, that specially clever poor students be helped by the State, that legal fees be reduced, and that insurance of all kinds be under Government control.

For the first time equal rights for women are announced as a party issue, and women factory inspectors demanded.

Declarations were also made for a submission to the people of all fundamental laws, that representatives be paid for their services, that the sessions of the Bundesrat be public, that a progressive income and inheritance tax be imposed, that tax on land be lessened, that corporation and bank laws be revised, that tariff be protective, hospitals improved, and, in short, they demanded every conceivable social reform, but added to their list certain features, such as strong

army, high tariff, State arbitration, restriction of production, and the establishment of penal colonies, which made the party unpopular with the people in whose interests they were supposed to work, so that from 1887, when they secured their first seat, until now (1902) their membership has never exceeded ten.

Much has been said regarding Agrarianism, as though the principles suggested by the term were the issues of one party. No such party exists, but practically all recognize the presence of the burdens of which the agricultural communities complain. The only respect in which there is a difference amongst them is how the remedies are to be applied.

All acknowledge that wages for farm labor have increased, and that the price of farm products has decreased, while the output per acre has not undergone any material change. Farm labor is also scarce, partly because of the attractions of the factories of the cities, and partly because of certain laws which affect agricultural labor, as, for example, the law of 1854 which provides punishment for a person who violates a contract to work on a farm, while no such punishment is meted out in other labor contracts. Then many restrictions are thrown around the importation of laborers, as, for example, they must have permission to enter the Empire, they are subjected to physical examination, and then upon enrolment their stay is limited.

The decrease in the price of farm produce is due to the rapid development of the resources of other countries, especially North and South America and Siberia, and the low freight rates that prevail. Thus,

the freight from Chicago to Hamburg is less than it is from Silesia to Hamburg, and Siberia promises a still lower rate.

A large part of the farm land of the German Empire is far from fertile, and to meet the heavy demands made upon the soil, artificial fertilization must be resorted to.

Realizing the important part which the agricultural potentialities of a State must play in the ordinary course of events, and the ultimate dependence a nation, because of conflicts with other nations, may be placed upon home supplies, all parties agree that something should be done for the benefit of agriculture. The only question is What and How.

The first and readiest suggestion is protection in the shape of higher duties on foodstuffs, and the removal of duties on all forms of fertilizers. This, of course, opens up the entire economic program of a nation, and because of the local and personal interests affected, as well as the entire industrial prosperity, it forms such an important issue with the various parties that its discussion will be, for the present, deferred.

LIBERAL PARTY.

The different phases of the Liberal party were the outcome of the struggles of the third class, the Bourgeoisie, especially the urban elements, for greater industrial opportunities, as opposed to the efforts of the Conservative factions to insure a "continuance of the feudal system, the absolutism of the nobility and the Church, and those interests which were

✓ common to the Crown, the army, and the officials of Church and State." Fundamentally it is a *negative* party rather than progressive, and usually arrays itself in opposition. They opposed class distinctions, they demanded the discontinuance of serfdom in all its forms, and even hinted at greater restriction of the royal power. It was the belief of the organizers that they were forming a people's party, and this belief was forged into a conviction by the generous use of such words as "equality," "brotherhood," "liberty."

— The National Liberals, forming the right wing of liberalism, are the strongest, and include the mine owners, large manufacturers, wholesale dealers and shippers, or those classes which represent mobile wealth in contrast to the Conservatives, whose interests centre about immobile property. While not, either by tradition or present professions, opposed to the demands of the working classes, they consider themselves the natural enemy of their political organization — social-democracy. It was this party that assisted Bismarck in carrying through his "Church politics" and later the tariff revision.

In membership, it had its maximum, 155, in 1874, and its minimum, 42, in 1890, while its present strength is 52.

In their program of 1881, they declared their allegiance to the Kaiser and the Empire, and expressed a determination to see the independence of the individual States preserved. They asserted their interest in the welfare of the working classes, and announced that, in their opinion, the relations between Church and State should be friendly. Too

much agitation regarding local issues they considered harmful in "so young an Empire," as it tended towards disruption. They demanded direct taxation, but a kind that should not overburden the poorer classes. Centralization in all forms was denounced, and then believing that they had formulated a political creed that would be acceptable to many, they asked the extreme parties to unite upon this carefully prepared middle ground.

The creed was simple enough, but not sufficiently vigorous to cope with questions that were coming to the front, in spite of their hope that local issues might be avoided. It was therefore necessary in 1884 to state clearly how they stood in relation to these new problems. They came out boldly for a defensive army, secret ballot, uniform tariff schedule for the Empire, increased bank tax, aid of some sort for agriculture, spirit tax for the benefit of the small distiller, law against socialism, and avowed their hostility to social-democracy.

In 1893, they voted for the increase asked for in the standing army, saying that the reorganization of the armies of France and Russia required a corresponding strengthening of the German military. They took occasion at this time, in their appeal for votes, to express an interest in the welfare of the mechanic and small tradesman, and a wish to see an improvement in the condition of the middle class.

The "Church politics" and the tariff revision just referred to caused a split in the party in 1879. One faction, forty-five in number, supported the Chancellor, while forty-two formed the left wing in

opposition to his measures. In the next year they took to themselves the name of Liberal Union, and in 1884, uniting with the Progressive party, became the German Progressive (Deutsch-Freisinnige) party. Ten members seceded in 1893 from the stand taken by their colleagues on the army question, and organized the Progressive Union. While this faction has had in its membership men of great ability, it has never been strong in numbers, and to-day has one less than when organized ten years ago.

They favored, in discussing the military measure, two-year service, which at will might be increased to five, and opposed with vigor all legislation that might increase the cost of living. With their declared approval of the principle of equality, they disapproved of anti-Semitic agitation.

The salient features in the platform of the German Progressive party are: the development of a real constitutional co-operation between the Government and the representatives, a legally responsible Ministry, equal suffrage, secret ballot, compensation for representatives, equal rights for all, liberty of conscience, religious freedom, regulation of relations of the State to all religious organizations, permission to organize labor, opposition to State control over demand and supply of labor and its products, equitable tariff, abolition of all monopolies and favored interests, and opposition to any curtailment in the privileges of the representatives. Their membership has varied from sixty-seven in 1884 to twenty-one in 1903.

In going before the people in 1893, their appeal

for votes was based upon their refusal to vote for the army bill, increasing the period of service from two to seven years.

Subsequently they have added to their program a demand for a three-year term of service for representatives instead of five; that elections be held on holidays, so that the working men can vote without loss of time and wages; that class privileges of all kinds be abolished, that legal trials be held for all offences, that new avenues for work be opened to women, that military workshops be closed and prison labor ended, that the "dead land" be parcelled out as farm lands, that health supervision be undertaken by the State, that the entire matter of working men's insurance be improved, that schools be separated from the Church, and that education be free and obligatory.

Another faction of the Liberal party took the name of German People's party. Although it existed as long ago as 1848, when it was called the Democratic party, it was not until 1887 that it assumed sufficient importance to ask for representation in the Reichstag. In general it is opposed to the Government, and has consistently voted against any increase in the army or length of services, but insists upon personal services. It has clamored for the adoption of the constitution of 1849, but in other important features it is quite in accord with the other Liberal factions, though it has added a few planks to the platform, such as: co-operative organizations, opposition to Sunday labor, maximum of ten hours for a working day, opposition to night work in factories for women and children,

compulsory arbitration between employer and employee, elimination of indirect taxation, revision of factory laws, and retiring pensions for working men.

Its maximum strength was eleven in 1893, while in the 1903 election they secured only six seats.

THE PARTICULARISTS.

In the third group the most prominent faction is known as the Centrists, Clericals, or Ultramontanes.

✓ They have many points in common with the Conservatives. Both emphasize the principle of authority, and to one or the other belong practically all of the titled members of the Reichstag—fifty-six out of seventy-seven,—and both desire the maintenance of existing social distinctions.

11 It is, with the possible exception of the Social-Democrats, the best organized party in the Empire, and without any exception it has the most varied and elastic program of all. There was a time when it contained all shades of popular parties who were brought together by Bismarck's *Kulturkampf-politik* and held together by Windthorst's masterful leadership. It has opposed general suffrage, but in its more recent appeals for the support of the working classes it claims to have secured the secret ballot. It voted against a law for the protection of working men, but has rendered noble service in securing improvements in the various forms of insurance.

It started in 1871 as a constitutional party, and in its first appeal for votes declared that it stood for constitutional rights for all, and on this secured

fifty-two members and held, because of the equal strength of the right and the left wings, the balance of power. Bismarck's anti-Catholic policy was offensive to many of the members who were loosely attached to the two other great factions, and the Centrists rapidly gained in power, attaining their maximum strength, one hundred and six members, in 1890.

Since 1887 it has assisted the Government, especially in the army bills, and takes to its credit the reduction of the increase asked for from 23,271 men to 16,265, and the extension of the period within which this increase should be made to three and one half years, after having previously (in 1893) voted against the measure when its passage was assured.

In 1900 the Centrists agreed to the Government's project for a new navy on condition that the cost should be met by an increase in the stamp tax and a duty on foreign beer, alcohol, champagne, and domestic sparkling wines.

The new tariff schedule received their support, and in return they obtained aid for the widows' and orphans' insurance on the ground that the new tariff increased the cost of living. They have sought to placate the farmer by securing a repeal of the law governing the production of alcohol and removing the internal-revenue tax on potato alcohol. They have favored the abolition of the sugar premium and endeavored to secure a compensating benefit by restricting the manufacture of saccharine so that it may be made from beet sugar only.

The *Kulturkampf* is dead, and Windthorst's lead-

ership is no more, and there are not wanting people ready to prophesy the dissolution of the party. But as long as section two of the anti-Jesuit law of 1872 is unrepealed—that clause which forbids the admission of foreign Jesuits and reserves the right to dictate just where each German Jesuit must live—a power that is possessed but never exercised,—as long as this remains a law, the Centrists will have a strong bond of union which, added to the interest they are taking in social questions, and their non-committal attitude regarding many other measures, will not only keep them alive but magnify them into such proportions that they must be considered in every proposition that is brought forward.

The German Hanoverian Imperial party came into existence in 1869, and have had as distinguishing features a return to the condition of independence that existed prior to 1866, and a general attitude of opposition to all government measures. Their maximum strength was eleven in 1890, and their present membership is four.

The Polish party, now consisting of sixteen members, are closely related to the Centrists, though since Bismarck's time they have usually supported the Government. The Danes, now only one, and the nine Alsations rely upon local interests for their reasons to exist as parties.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS.

The Social-Democratic party originated in the communistic manifestoes of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1847) and the labor agitation of Ferdinand

Lassalle (1862-1864). In its earlier days its creed was practically the following :

“Labor is the source of all wealth and of all culture, and since effective labor is possible only by associative effort, the product of labor belongs to society — that is, to its members, with equal right to each according to his reasonable necessities.”

“In present society, the raw material and machinery for production are monopolized by the capitalists ; the dependence thus caused is the source of misery and slavery in all forms.”

“The emancipation of labor demands the transfer of raw material to the common possession of society, and the communistic regulation of collective labor to insure its best results and the just distribution of the product of labor.”

“The emancipation of labor must be the work of the laborer, with respect to whom all others form a reactionary mass.”

The communistic organization, after forty years of existence, passed under the direction of Liebknecht and Bebel into a labor organization pure and simple, and uniting with itself the labor unions of various sorts became in 1875 a single party of considerable importance.

Having its origin in what it termed a grievance, the leaders of the organization sought to correct the abuses it thought existed by violent utterances and radical measures. The natural result was an alignment of opposing interests and the ultimate passing of the socialistic law of 1878.

Although having leaders of great ability and earnestness, it is doubtful if this party could ever

have achieved any political significance if it had not been aided from an unexpected quarter.

Beginning with 1879, industrialism in Germany made phenomenal advances, which, in a large measure, could be assigned to two causes: the application of science to industrial arts, whereby the cost of production was lessened by the utilization of waste products and economical power, and the disciplinary training which the military service gave to the young men, making it possible to organize effectively large concerns with a consequent economical administration.

The result, whether due to the causes named or not, was the rapid development of an enormous number of manufactories of all kinds, the calling into industrial centres of large armies of laborers, and the withdrawal of men from the farms. This at once brought out a feeling of antagonism on the part of the farmers thus weakened, and the gathering together of men presented an opportunity for the discussion of grievances based in part upon the comparison of the financial and social condition of the employer and employee.

The dissatisfaction resulting from this contrast, and the awakening of wants in excess of the ability to meet them, brought about a condition of social unrest, which in the hands of the agitator furnished the foundation whereon to construct a political party.

It is likely that the prosecutions because of socialistic utterances aided rather than retarded the growth of this party, but after the large gains of 1890, when they elected thirty-six members to the Reichstag, the

enforcement of the law against socialism became rarer, and in the freer permission to hold meetings many organizations were formed, then brought into harmonious action, and the result has been a steadfast growth in their representation until now they can boast of eighty-one — a gain of twenty-five at the 1903 election.

The program of the Social-Democrats includes many good features of a constructive character that attract the honest laborer and his well-wisher, and at the same time enough that is destructive to secure the support of those who are displeased with the position or prosperity of others. It announces that all other parties have sought to oppress the laborer and build up monopolies, that small industries are closed, men thrown out of work, and the breach between the rich and the poor is daily growing wider. The remedy proposed is to unite the laborers, secure political power, and *demand* their rights.

In detail, they ask secret ballot and equal suffrage for all over twenty without regard to sex (at present only males over twenty-five can vote), a re-districting of the Empire, elections held on a holiday, an elected ministry and judiciary, a militia in lieu of a standing army, international arbitration instead of war, abolition of all laws against public meetings, equal rights for women, withdrawal of all grants to religious institutions, secularization of schools, free schools and compulsory attendance, abolition of capital punishment, indemnity for acquitted defendants in criminal causes, free medical attendance at births and deaths, income and inheritance tax, suppression of all

indirect tax, eight-hour day for labor, limit the minimum age of factory hands to fourteen years, give all workmen thirty-six hours of uninterrupted rest every week, abolish night work except where the technical exigencies prevent a suspension of operation, State control of production, imperial labor bureau, unrestricted labor unions, a demand for hygienic betterment, working men's insurance with the insured represented in the administration, insurance against lack of work, invalidity, and accidents, salary for representatives in Reichstag, ratification of constitutional amendments by the people, declaration of war and peace decided by the people's representatives, abolition of all duties that favor limited industries or interests, and harmonious laws regarding all forms of labor.

In their various appeals for votes, special emphasis has been placed upon the oppressive character of the laws that would be enacted in case certain other factions should grow in strength. The two dire calamities that are cited are: a possible modification of the suffrage laws whereby the property owner would secure more votes, and a tariff on food which would increase the cost of living. That these arguments have weight was seen at the 1903 election in Saxony, when the Social-Democrats elected twenty-two out of the twenty-three representatives as a rebuke, in part, to the multiple-vote system there in use.

The relative strength of the parties is shown in the following table:

Session.	Group I. Conservative. (Right.)	Group II. Liberal. (Left.)	Group III. Particular. (Centre.)	Group IV. Social- Democrats.
1871-1874	94	201	101	1
1874-1877	57	205	126	9
1877-1878	84	175	126	12
1878-1881	127	135	132	9
1881-1884	79	154	152	12
1884-1887	106	118	149	24
1887-1890	122	183	131	11
1890-1893	110	108	154	35
1893-1898	117	90	146	44
1898-1903	103	89	149	56
1903-	87	86	132	81

Note.—At the 1903 election 11 scattering, or *wilde*, were chosen, and as they have not yet voted on any measure they cannot be allocated.

With 397 voters in the Reichstag, 199 are needed for a majority. But in speaking of the control or balance of power, consideration must be given to those issues which brought over enough voters from the other factions to secure the needed majority.

Understanding this it may be succinctly stated that the balance of power was held :

By the Liberals from 1871-1878, and by the Conservatives from 1878-1881, because of splits in the Liberal party and the attempt on the life of the Emperor.

The period from 1881-1887 witnessed the struggle of Bismarck against Windthorst, Richter, and Bebel, during which the parties divided, grouped, and re-grouped themselves on each individual issue.

From 1887 to 1890 there was a coalition for and against the proposition to increase the period of military service, the Conservatives and National Liberals uniting in support of the Government proposition.

From 1890 to 1895 there was, on many questions, a combining of the forces of the Conservatives and

Clericals that gave a safe majority. It will be observed that this in part covers the first complete Reichstag and indicates the satisfying of all measures in which the Government was vitally interested.

In 1895 there arose certain differences between these parties, growing in part out of the opposition of some of the Clericals to the congratulatory resolutions to Bismarck on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. From that date to 1903 the Clericals held the balance of power, and assiduously claim the credit for all the measures that have become beneficial laws and for having ameliorated the effect of all that have worked hardships.

By examining the following table it will be seen that the fluctuations in the number of representatives does not agree with the changes in the number of votes to each representative. It will also be noted that the Social-Democrats give for each representative more votes than any of the other factions. This explains why it is that they are so anxious to have the Empire re-districted. If this were done, the number of seats which they would gain would not be so great as the figures would seem to indicate, owing to the fact that a larger percentage of their faction goes to the polls than is the case in the others. If the present law of having one representative to each 100,000 were followed in the re-districting, 126 new seats would be added to the Reichstag and considerable change would be made in the relative numbers, giving a large increase to the Social-Democrats, a loss to the Clericals, a gain to the Liberals, while the other factions would remain nearly stationary.

	1898.		1903.	
	Seats.	Votes in 1000's.	Seats.	Votes in 1000's.
Conservative.....	56	859.2	52	909.7
Imperial.....	23	343.6	19	284.4
Anti-Semitic.....	13	284.3	9	244.6
Farmers' Union.....	11	250.7	7	231.6
Total for Group I....	103	1737.8	87	1670.3
	1:	168,000 votes	1:	192,000 votes
National Liberal.....	46	971.3	50	1243.4
German Progressive....	29	558.3	21	523.5
Progressive Union.....	14	195.7	9	241.1
Total for Group II..	89	1725.3	86	2008.0
	1:	194,000 votes	1:	232,000 votes
Centrists.....	102	1455.1	102	1853.7
South German.....	12	108.5	—	93.8
Poles.....	14	244.1	16	340.5
Alsatians }	21	268.2	14	272.6
Danes }				
Guelphs }				
Total for Group III.	149	2075.9	132	2560.6
	1:	139,000 votes	1:	194,000 votes
Social-Democrats.....	56	2107.1	81	3025.1
	1:	176,000 votes	1:	173,000 votes
Unattached.....			11	50.4
	397	7646.1	397	9312.4

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The increased vote at the last election indicates a more thorough organization that brought out the voters and the zeal of the 130 new successful candidates who were in the field. At the 1898 election, only 68 per cent. of the qualified voters exercised their right of suffrage, and at the 1903 election not more than 70 per cent. voted.

In the Empire there are 111 city districts and 286 that are wholly or in the greater part country districts. In the former, more than half cast a vote in excess of 70 per cent. of the registration, while in the latter class the majority of districts poll a vote less than 70 per cent. of the registration. This fact, taken into consideration with the further fact that it is in the urban districts that the Social-Democrats and Centrists have their greatest success, suggests that these two parties have polled practically their maximum vote, while the Conservative and Liberal factions have by no means exhausted their resources, nor, perhaps, even awakened to a sense of any danger.

THE PARTY PROBLEMS.

The great question before the German Empire is how to adjust the relative necessities and demands of two great classes—the industrial and the agrarian. The former has made the Empire great, but in its greatness it has crowded other nations and awakened their enmity. To maintain commercial supremacy there are needed: a navy to protect the great fleet of commerce-carriers, and a standing army that can guarantee the security of the enormous capital invested in the home industries. But while promoting

industrialism foreign trade alone must not be considered, for 72 per cent. of the output of the industries are consumed at home, and therefore due attention must be paid to the maintenance of the purchasing power of the home people. Then, since a large part of wealth primarily comes from the soil, agriculture must be fostered. To do this in a country where nearly all of the available land is under cultivation, and where artificial fertilization is needed to even maintain the output, a protective tariff must be called in to bring the price of imported foodstuffs up to the cost of domestic production. As soon as this is broached, two great difficulties arise. Any increase in the cost of living will add to the cost of producing those articles sold in the world's markets and whose accruing profits must pay the workmen at home. And then, the countries affected by the tariff on food supplies will seek to place an equalizing duty on German importations and perhaps make more difficult the securing of raw material which Germany must have.

The Conservatives give their support to the agrarian interests and ask for higher duties on agricultural products; the Social-Democrats insist that such a schedule would increase out of all proportion the cost of living, and freely call its advocates "the oppressors of the working classes," "extortioners," and "starvers of widows and orphans"; the Liberals lie in their helplessness between the millstones of capitalism and socialism; while the Centrists compile statistics to show that the old tariff law of 1818, with its forty-three articles on the schedule, did not meet the exigencies of the present time, especially since

within the period of its operation thirty-four States have increased their duties to Germany's disadvantage, and they give their powerful aid to the Government to secure a schedule that will be of benefit to the agriculturists and assist in securing commercial treaties which will be of great value to the industrial Liberals. In the opinion of some, this assistance has been dearly purchased, and the recent victories of the Social-Democrats are interpreted by them as a rebuke to the Government for its friendly relations with the Central party.

It may safely be said that no country, at the present time, has so difficult a problem to solve as the one that confronts Germany. Its trade as compared with other nations is about as follows, in millions of dollars :

	England.	Germany.	France.	Russia.
Imports in food and raw material.	1800	1450	445	200
Exports.. .. .	375	1150	250	115
Excess of imports over exports...	1425	300	195	85

England meets this balance that stands against her from the freights received in carrying the great bulk of the trade between countries, and does not attempt to turn the balance in the other direction by fostering agriculture, from the fact, that no cultivation, however intense, could meet the demands, and so the question is not agitated. But in Germany, the case is different. Here the imports of food amount to seven hundred and fifty millions

of dollars, and if this could be cut down half by improving the conditions at home, the trade account would be nicely balanced. This furnished the agrarian economist and statistician with the basis of his arguments in favor of aid to agriculture.

His position is by no means hopeless, for he can show that he already supplies his country with 95 per cent. of the meat consumed, that the average weight of the animals has, by better feeding, gradually increased, and the limit is not reached.

(The farmer declares that the duty on wheat and rye is neither novel nor unreasonable. In the German Zollverein there was a duty on agricultural products until 1865, free from duty between that date and 1879, when it was placed at one mark per double centner on wheat and rye, raised in 1885 to three marks, in 1887 to five, and since then has never been less than three and a half. The new law places a minimum duty of five marks a double centner on rye and five and a half on wheat, since wheat is regarded as more of a luxury than rye, and a maximum duty of six and a half marks on both. He answers the charge of the Social-Democrats that he will make it impossible for the laborer to purchase the necessities of life, by stating the fact that during the last twenty years the cost of bread has not been affected in the *slightest* degree by the changes in duty, nor has it been appreciably influenced by the great fluctuations in the market price of wheat and rye.

The agrarian expresses his desire to aid the Government in its negotiations for commercial treaties which expire at the close of this year—treaties that

are essential for the manufacturers of the Empire—by adopting a maximum duty for nations that will make no concessions and a minimum duty for favoring Governments. It is true that the figures adopted are not so high as the rabid agrarian demanded. It is also true that the great gains of the Social-Democrats may be regarded by some of the nations as promise of a growing free-trade sentiment and induce them to try to drive harder bargains with Germany when framing the treaties.

Parenthetically, it might be said that this is the only evil that can grow out of the increased representation of the Social-Democrats in the Reichstag.

Just here it might be well to correct the false impression that the bulk of the army comes from the agricultural classes, and therefore the Government, and some say the Emperor, is willing to make concessions to the agrarians to secure their cheerful aid in maintaining the strength of the army. It is not known that any one in authority is especially pleased to have a large army. Practically all who give it their approval and support realize that the army is a necessity and not for parade. And so far as concerns the sections from which the recruits come, it appears that one recruit is furnished from each 2.12 square kilometres of the agricultural section, while the industrial districts send one recruit from each 1.54 square kilometres. These figures are based upon place of birth and cannot admit the explanation that fathers with sons, and lads seeking work, come to the industrial centres, and there entering the army make the difference that is so apparent.

Commercial treaties are a necessity to the indus-

trial Liberal. He cannot build up a great enterprise and establish a foreign market without having some assurance as to the conditions which he must meet abroad, and also that they will be permanent. He therefore favors a broad-gauge tariff, within whose limits conditions favorable to him may be secured and at the same time not add so much to the cost of living as to require higher wages with such a consequent increase in the cost of production as to jeopardize his hold on foreign trade.

It is just this desideratum that the Government seeks.

At this point the Centrists, the politicians of opportunity, step in and say: We will agree to a slight increase in duty on foodstuffs demanded by our Conservative friends, provided you will use the revenues thus obtained for pensioning widows and orphans; we realize the importance of having a strong army to guarantee the security of our home establishments, and a powerful navy to protect the fleet that carries the products of (our friends of the Left), and will agree to the larger army and new navy, if you will meet this additional expense by an increase in the stamp tax, a duty on foreign beer, alcohol, champagne, and certain recognized luxuries. And to the Social-Democrats they say: Your social agitations, your continual call for the uplift of the working classes, the unceasing holding up of the example of the rich and the luxuries they enjoy, have awakened in the minds of the laborer wants that can be met only out of higher wages, which endangers our industrial interest, or by a decreased cost of living, which would drive agriculture from

our country. You are therefore the enemies of the laborer, of the industrials who give him work, and of the agrarians who feed him.

PROBABLE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

A nation with four strong parties and nearly a score of factions faithfully striving to meet [the interests of] three important and mutually interdependent classes] has upon its hands a complex and difficult task. But out of some of the complications help will surely come. It will not be possible to enact any law that would be temporarily beneficial to a few and ultimately injurious to many. Every measure must be a compromise in order to conciliate a sufficient number to secure its passage, and the thorough discussion which it must receive from its many-viewed adherents will make it take on its best possible form.

The Government may use the Centrists and the Conservatives to secure the adoption of the commercial treaties, and employ the Social-Democrats as whips to keep them in line.

A leaning towards industrialism and the building of a powerful navy for its security serve notice on the Junker element that their unreasonable demands for protection will not be considered. The Catholics in their organization of October 24, 1890, announced it their purpose to antagonize the Social-Democrats; and they, in turn, at their Halle convention, declared war on Catholicism.

The various Liberal factions may unite and take a socialistic term, and the monarchical parties may combine against socialism in a pan-German body for

the adjustment of domestic policies. In the last election there were many instances in which minor local considerations outweighed the lines on which the parties were generally divided. Thus the Centrists and Liberals united in Westphalia, Nassau, Baden, Hesse, and Rheinland to defeat the Social-Democrats; in one district the Centrists and the Social-Democrats joined to defeat a Liberal; in Geestemünde the agrarians voted for a National Liberal; the National Liberals and the agrarians unitedly opposed the Social-Democrats in Würtemberg; and the Silesian farmers sought the support of the Social-Democrats because the tariff was not high enough and to show their enmity to the Government's position in its treaty with Russia. And even some of the towers of strength fell. The National Liberals lost their two best orators, Bassermann and Hasse, the leaders of pan-Germanism; Oertel, the last extreme of conservatism, was left at home; Dr. Barth, the head of the Progressive party, was defeated; and no one has reported great grief on the part of the Government over the downfall of the four agrarian champions.

Much can be learned from this election and those in authority will not fail to profit by its lessons. On January 20th of this year even, the Imperial Chancellor, foreseeing the tendencies, asserted that a halt in the development of social improvement was impossible, but the advance must be along sound and normal lines. There are already under consideration such questions as the housing of the working classes, suppression of unhealthful industries in residential communities, the interdiction

of speculation in foodstuffs and monopolies in building sites, public playgrounds, sanitary inspection, revision of tenement laws, leave of absence with pay for all employees who have been a certain time in the public service, and insurance against lack of work.

In a word, the general principle will doubtless be to meet the demands for social betterment, insure material prosperity, and utilize the best features of democracy rather than violently oppose it. To accomplish all this will be a difficult task, but it is to these questions of vital internal importance that the forces of the Empire will be turned for months to come. The great problem is not only to "trim ship" but to steer the ship of State amongst the obstacles thrown in the way by (the seventeen factions) that impede her progress, and those who imagine that every measure proposed in Germany is a menace to other nations or a revenge upon any one of them has a distorted vision and an unsound if not wicked judgment.

Looking still farther into the future suggests the query as to what will be the result of the red flood of social democracy which has overflowed its banks and swallowed up part of the adjacent territory. A careful study of the question will convince the most timid that it is not fraught with any danger. As an issue it is social rather than political, and a party that does not seek political mastery can never wield an effective power. As an organization it has become strong because its agitators find their illustrations in the daily lives of those to whom they speak and the utopia which they picture seems easy of reach. It deals in generalizations so glittering that

any analyses would seem like a useless awakening from a blissful dream.

Said Bebel in 1891: "It is not the question whether we achieve this or that. For us, Social-Democrats, the main thing is that we make demands which no other party has made or can make." And his lieutenant, Schippel, declared: "If free-trade is on the Government's chariot, we shall oppose free-trade; if protection is there, we shall strike at protection. The chief thing in any event is to strike vigorously." All of this is like striking at nebulousity and hitting nothing.

It claims to be the party of the laborer, but in the last Reichstag they had only one laboring man, strictly speaking, a cigar-maker; their chief apostle, Singer, is a capitalist, and no party has so many editors and writers, thirty-two in number, ranging from Bebel down, while thirty-one are employers of labor. It is a party of writers and talkers who look at things from an academic standpoint, and reason from what they are, not to what they ought to be. In 1902, when the tariff bill was under consideration, they consumed in its discussion 126 hours out of the total of 218. They declared in their Erfurth program that religion is a personal matter and that school attendance should be obligatory. Then they asked for a repeal of section 166 of the statute which forbids impiety and disrespect to religion, and applauded Liebknecht when he said: "The schools must be mobilized against the Church, the teacher against the priest, and correct education supplant religion."

The question that is now agitating them is, Shall they insist upon a vice-presidency, and would their

principles allow one of their number, if elected, to pay to the Emperor the deference that is expected? Although the contingency is somewhat distant, it might be well for them to reflect upon the difficulty Singer might have, when presiding, to maintain order when he himself refused to leave the House when declared guilty of violating its rules. But they are undergoing a change. At their Munich convention they were indignant that no State official formally welcomed them, and at Stuttgart they were pleased to listen to a formal official greeting. They no longer leave the hall when the Emperor is cheered, and they are conforming to the rules of procedure and methods of administration against which they protested a few years ago. They are members of committees and have even served as chairmen. As a party they have passed through many of the troubles of childhood, and the sooner they achieve power and have to assume the responsibilities into which they will thus come the better it will be. It will then be seen that a party largely recruited from the ranks of the discontented and the dreamers cherish fatuous hopes and intangible theories.

Socialism, as a political principle in Germany, is a wave, a wave that is now striking against certain bulwarks and causes a foam whose mists in a measure obscure the horizon, but the wise Emperor and his astute Chancellor will, little by little, eradicate the causes of social irritation, the foam and mist will disappear, and not even an eddy will be seen.



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